

## Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-06 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00

NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-03 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-05

OMB-01 SCCT-01 SY-05 OC-05 CCO-00 A-01 OPR-02 PER-01

SCS-03 SCA-01 EB-07 COME-00 TRSE-00 XMB-02 /112 W

----- 064353

O P 050910Z JUL 75

FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9699

INFO AMEMBASSY COLOMBO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY DACCA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY KABUL PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

AMCONSUL BOMBAY PRIORITY

AMCONSUL CALCUTTA PRIORITY

AMCONSUL HONG KONG PRIORITY

AMCONSUL KARACHI PRIORITY

AMCONSUL LAHORE PRIORITY

USLO PEKING PRIORITY

CINCPAC PRIORITY

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

AMCONSUL MADRAS PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NEW DELHI 8948

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: XGDS1

TAGS: PINS, PINT, IN

SUBJ: CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION

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SUMMARY: THE GOI JULY 4 BANNED 26 OPPOSITION GROUPS INCLUDING THE RSS (JANA SANGH), ANAND MARG, JAMAAT-I-ISLAMI, AND NAXALITE GROUPS. WE DOUBT THAT THERE WILL BE ANY VIOLENT REPERCUSSIONS. CALM CONTINUES IN ALL THREE CONGEN CITIES. BIHAR IS ALOS REPORTEDLY PEACEFUL. ACCORDING TO A RETIRED MAJOR GENERAL, THE ARMY IS PLEASED IT HAS NOT NEEN USED IN PRESENT EMERGENCY. TWO INFLUENTIAL MP'S TOLD EMBOFFS THAT RESTRICTIONS ON PRESS AND POLITICAL FREEDOMS MIGHT BE RELAXED BUT NOT AT EXPENSE OF PRODUCTION AND EFFICIENCY GOALS. THEY OBSERVED THAT THE INDIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM HAD UNDERGONE A BASIC CHANGE. EFFORTS TO THROW OFF THE VESTIGES OF THE "SOFT STATE" CONTINUE. BUREAUCRATIC INDISCIPLINE IS REPORTEDLY BING PUNISHED, AND SO FAR, WORK APPEARS TO BE MOVING FASTER. EXPRESSIONS OF APPROVAL FOR THE USG'S "NO COMMENT" POSTURE HAVE BEEN VOICED BY SOME, INCLUDING SUPPORTERS OF MRS GANDHI. THIS WAS SAID TO BE MORE APPROPRIATE THAT THE SOVS MESSAGE OF CONGRATULATIONS. ATTENDANCE AT EMBASSY'S JUL 4 RECEPTION AS UNUSUALLY WELL-ATTENDED BY SENIOR GOI OFFICIALS, PRESUMABLY "UNDER GUIDANCE." J.P. NARAYAN HAS BEEN REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN MOVED TO A HOSPITAL IN CHANDIGARGH, WHERE HE IS IN POOR CONDITION WITH A FAILING KIDNEY. HE IS SAID TO BE ON A HUNDER STRIKE AND IS BEING FED INTRAVENOUSLY. END SUMMARY.

1. ACTING UNDER THE DEFENCE OF INDIA RULES, THE GOI JULY 4 BANNED TWENTY-SIX OPPOSITION GROUPS INCLUDING THRE RSS, THE MILITANT WING OF THE JANA SANGH; THE ANAND MARG, A VIOLENCE PRONE RELIGIOUS "REFORM" GROUP WITH SUBSTANTIAL FINANCIAL SUPPORT FROM AMERICAN DEVOTEES; THE JAMAAT-I-ISLAMI, ONE OF THE SEVERAL MOSLEM COMMUNAL ORGANIZATIONS; AND VARIOUS NAXALITE GROUPS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. THE OFFICES OF THE BANNED ORGANIZATITYNs WERE RAIDED AND SEALED THE MORNING OF JULY 4, AND SCORES OF ARRESTS WERE MADE. IN A RADIO INTERVIEW DEALING WITH THE LATEST MEASURES, THE UNION HOME MINISTER, K. BRAHMANANDA REDDI, SAID THAT THE "LAW AND ORDER SITUATION HAS BEEN COMPLETELY UNDER CONTROL." HE ADDED THAT THERE HAS NOT BEEN A SINGLE INSTANCE OF FIRING OR USE OF OTHER FORCE AND THAT THERE HAS NOT BEEN

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ANY NEED TO CALL OUT THE ARMY. DISTINGUISHING THE BANNED GROUPS FROM POLITICAL PARTIES, MINISTER OF STATE FOR HOME AFFAIRS OM MEHTA TOLD THE TV AUDIENCE THAT SO FAR THERE WAS NO RESTRICTION ON THE FUNCTIONING OF ANY PARTY. MEHTA ALSO SAID THAT OVER 1000 ARREST WARRANTS HAD BEEN ISSUED AGAINST SMUGGLERS AND THAT OFFICIALS BELIEVED TO BE CONNIVING WITH SMUGGLERS WERE BEING INVESTIGATED. THE DECISION TO OUTLAW THE RSS AND

ANANDA MARG WAS TELEGRAPHED SEVERAL DAYS AGO WHEN BOTH WERE PUBLICLY ACCUSED OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR MURDERING THE LATE RAILWAYS MINISTER L.N. MISHRA. THE TOP LEADERS OF THE RSS WERE ACTUALLY ARRESTED SEVERAL DAYS AGO. AT THIS POINT WE DOUBT THERE WILL BE ANY VIOLENT REPERCUSSIONS.

2. SO FAR THE SECURITY SITUATION REMAINS ESSENTIALLY UNCHANGED FROM OUR LAST REPORT. CALM IN ALL THREE CONGEN CITIES WITH RECENT NEWSMEN VISITING PATNA INFORMING US THAT BIHAR APPEARS PEACEFUL AS WELL. THE WEST BANGAL CHIEF SECRETARY TOLD OUR CONGEN THAT THERE HAD BEEN ONLY 55 ARRESTS THROUGH JULY 4 (ALTHOUGH WE ASSUME OTHERS WERE ARRESTED AND THEN RELEASED AFTER WARNINGS).

3. A RETIRED MAJOR GENERAL WHO MAINTAINS CLOSE CONTACT WITH THE ARMY INFORMED US PRIVATELY THAT THE MILITARY IS PLEASED IT HAS NOT BEEN USED FOR INTERNAL SECURITY PURPOSES. HE SAID THERE HAVE BEEN NO MAJOR TROOP MOVEMENTS OR SHIFTING OF HIGH LEVEL OFFICERS SINCE THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION JUNE 26. THE GENERAL ECHOED A SENTIMENT BEING EXPRESSED BY OTHER EMBASSY CONTACTS IN THE PRESS, ACADEMIC CIRCLES AND PARLIAMENT: THE SHIFT TO CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITARIANISM IN INDIA HAS BEEN SURPRISINGLY SMOOTH IN FACT UNCOMFORTABLY SO. INDIAN DEMOCRACY HAS PERSISTED WHILE DEMOCRACY IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES OF PAKISTAN AND BANGLADESH FOLDED. INDIA WAS THOUGHT TO BE DIFFERENT. THE REACTION TO THE EMERGENCY SEEMS TO HAVE SHOWED IT WAS NOT AND OUR CONTACTS EXPRESS PERSONAL FRUSTRATION AT THEIR INABILITY TO EXPLAIN WHY, OR PERHAPS THEIR OWN MISREADING OF THE INDIAN PSYCHE.

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4. TWO INFLUENTIAL CONGRESS MP'S IN SEPARATE CONVERSATIONS WITH EMBASSY OFFICERS JULY 4 AND 5 THOUGHT THAT THE RESTRICTIONS ON PRESS AND POLITICAL FREEDOMS MIGHT BE RELAXED BUT ONLY SO FAR AS THEY WOULD NOT INHIBIT THE NEW AND DETERMINED LURCH TOWARD RAISING PRODUCTION AND ENHANCING BUREAUCRATIC EFFICIENCY. THE PARLIAMENT WOULD BE CALLED TO APPROVE THE EMERGENCY, PROBABLY DURING THE FIRST TWO WEEKS OF AUGUST. IN THE UNLIKELY EVENT THE SUPREME COURT DECIDES AGAINST MRS GANDHI, THE SIX YEAR DISQUALIFICATION PENALTY WOULD BE PROMPTLY NULLIFIED BY THE ELECTION COMMISSIONER OR BY PARLIAMENTARY ACTION. BOTH CONSIDERED THE QUESTION OF SCHEDULING NEW ELECTIONS LARGELY IRRELEVANT TO THE NEW REALITY. MRS GANDHI IS DETERMINED TO DIRECT THE NATION'S POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC

ENERGIES TOWARD ECONOMIC AND ADMINISTRATIVE  
GOALS WITHOUT CONTINUED "INTERFERENCE" FROM INTERNAL FORCES.  
ONE OF THE MPS (CURRENTLY THE CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY WHIP)  
OBSERVED THAT IF REMAINING OPPOSITION MPS ATTEMPTED TO  
DISRUPT PARLIAMENT, THEY WOULD BE PROMPTLY REMOVED. IF THE  
RULES OF THE HOUSE HAD TO BE CHANGED, THEY WOULD BE. IF THE  
CONSTITUTION HAD TO BE REVISED, IT WOULD BE. IT WAS IMPORTANT,  
HE OBSERVED, TO UNDERSTAND THAT REGARDLESS OF WHAT OTHERS

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9700

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 NEW DELHI 8948

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

MIGHT SAY IN PUBLIC, THE INDIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM HAD  
UNDERGONE A BASIC CHANGE.

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5. THE GOI AND CONGRESS GOVERNMENTS IN THE STATES ARE CONTINUING THEIR EFFORTS TO THROW OFF THE VESTIGES OF THE "SOFT STATE." UNION CABINET MINISTERS RESPONSIBLE FOR PRODUCTION HAVE ALSO COMMENCED A SERIES OF MEETINGS WITHIN THEIR MINISTRIES "TO REMOVE IMPEDIMENTS IN THE WAY OF STEPPING UP PRODUCTION OF ESSENTIAL COMMODITIES AND KEY INDUSTRIAL INPUTS." ON JULY 4, THE GOI ISSUED FORMAL INSTRUCTIONS CALLING FOR "STRICT MEASURES" AGAINST ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITIES WHO DO NOT ENFORCE PUNCTUALITY IN THEIR OFFICES. THE PREVIOUS DAY, PRESS REPRTS ANNOUNCED THAT THE RAILWAY MINISTRY HAD RETIRED ITS GENERAL MANAGER FOR THE IMPORTANT NORTHERN RAILWAY AND ASKED HIS COUNTERPART ON THE NORTHEASTERN RAILWAY TO GO ON 45 DAYS LEAVE. BOTH ARE CHARGED WITH ALLOWING HIGH ABSENTEEISM AMONG THEIR STAFF AND "GENERAL LETHARGY IN ADMINISTRATION." SIMILAR STEPS TO STRENGTHEN ADMINISTRATIVE PERFORMANCE WERE ANNOUNCED BY CONGRESS STATE GOVERNMENTS AROUND THE COUNTRY. WE NOTE WIDESPREAD AGREEMENT THAT GOI MINISTRIES ARE FULLY STAFFED AT OPENING TIME AND WORK IS PROCEEDING FASTER. SO FAR.

6. THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY IN GENERAL IN DELHI, CALCUTTA, AND BOMBAY CONTINUED TO EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT "THINGS WILL BE BETTER" UNDER THE NEW CIRCUMSTANCES AND RELIEF THAT THE ECONOMIC MEASURES THUS FAR HAVE NOT HURT, AND INDEED HAVE HELPED IT, EVEN THOUGH THEY DESCRIBE THE MEASURES AS LARGELY "OLD WINE IN NEW BOTTLES". ON JULY 3, THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE CPI TERMINATED A THREE DAY CONFERENCE ON THE EMERGENCY WITH A RESOLUTION WELCOMING T M "IMMEDIATE ECONOMIC MEASURES IN THE INTEREST OF THE PEOPLE ANNOUNCED BY THE PRIME MINISTER" AND URGED THAT THEY BE "FOLLOWED UP BY MORE BASIC MEASURES AGAINST MONOPOLISTS, LANDLORDS AND FOREIGN MULTI-NATIONALS."

7. SEVERAL VISITORS TO THE 4TH OF JULY RECEPTION HELD IN CALCUTTA COMMENTED THAT THE USG'S "NO COMMENT" POSTURE WAS MORE APPROPRIATE THAT MESSAGES OF CONGRATULATIONS FROM THE SOVS. THESE COMMENTS COME FROM SOME SUPPORTERS OF MRS GANDHI AS WELL AS OTHERS. WE MIGHT NOTE THAT ATTENDANCE AT THE EMBASSY'S OFFICIAL RECEPTION THAT DAY WAS UNUSUALLY WELL-ATTENDED, WITH THE ENTIRE SENIOR CADRE OF MEA FROM

THE FONMIN DOWN TO THE JOINT SECRETARY (AMERICAS) AND  
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ALL FOUR SECRETARY-LEVEL OFFICERS PRESENT. FINMIN SUBRAMANIAM,  
MIN OF STATE FOR IRRIGATION PATEL, TWO OF THE THREE SERVICE  
CHIEFS AND A WIDE SCATTERING OF MINISTERIAL SECRETARIES  
WERE ALSO THERE. WE MUST ASSUME THIS WAS "UNDER GUIDANCE."

8. JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN: WE LEARNED JULY 5 FROM A CONTACT WHOSE  
BROTHER IS A DOCTOR IN CHANDIHARH THAT NARAYAN WAS MOVED  
TO THE DOCTOR'S HOSPITAL IN THAT CITY TWO DAYS AGO. NARAYAN  
IS REPORTEDLY IN POOR CONDITION WITH FAILING KIDNEYS.  
HE IS REFUSING TO TAKE FOOD VOLUNTARILY AND IS BEING FED  
INTRAVENOUSLY.  
SAXBE

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** POLITICAL REPRESSION, OPPOSITION PARTIES, THE PRESS, POLITICAL SITUATION, CIVIL DISORDERS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 05 JUL 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** CunninFX  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
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**Enclosure:** n/a  
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**Errors:** N/A  
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**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
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